

No. 1,243 London, April 22, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

ON FROM ALDERMASTON

COMMENT

TEN THOUSAND on the first day of the march, **15,000** on the second, **20,000** on the third, and over **40,000** on the last! Judged by numbers alone the Aldermaston March of 1960 was a tremendous success. Nobody in their wildest dreams could have anticipated so many people taking part.

People in Britain now know that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is not only growing but growing rapidly. And not only in numbers. The march is taking on a more representative quality. Even the popular papers have been forced to abandon their "duffle-coats-and-beards-march" sneer and describe the march as a protest of ordinary people. This not only has an effect on the uncommitted. The marchers, feeling that they are on a winning side, gain strength and confidence.



Aldermaston 1960 has given us every reason to be confident about the future of the Campaign. But it is a future that needs to be looked at carefully. Numbers are not everything. If the Campaign's activities are



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Aldermaston 1960 has given us every reason to be confident about the future of the Campaign. But it is a future that needs to be looked at carefully. Numbers are not everything. If the Campaign's activities are only directed to converting people so that they will come on a march at Eastertime, Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Gaitskell will not be very disturbed.

How to use the confidence and enthusiasm generated by this year's march to make a very serious challenge to political orthodoxy is now the Campaign's main problem.



After the Trafalgar Square rally a group of Aldermaston marchers set off last Monday to walk to Paris, where they will wait for the Summit Conference. Leading the group for part of the journey in the top picture is Austin Underwood, stepping out briskly after the long week-end; next to him is Gerald Holtom, designer of the Aldermaston "ND" symbol and of the banners. With him will travel his son, also Tom Platts-Mills, John Chalmers and 13-year-old student Jenny James of Dartford. With others they are expected to embark from Dover today.

The band (centre picture) leads the march into Reading.

Superb organisation was once again a keynote of the march. The luggage (left) piled up outside the Falcon Inn, Aldermaston (and topped by two-year-old Diana Seed of York), was one of the many lorry loads conveyed from town to town.

Settling down for the night on the floor and benches of the Quaker Meeting House in Reading (right). Jack Mongar, one of the leaders of the Harrington missile base demonstration, sits up at the back.—Peace News photos by Will Green.



More pictures on pages 5 and 8.

SHADOWS OVER AFRICA: THE BOMB, APARTHEID, THE ALGERIAN WAR

We are devoted to non-violent action

Dr. Nkrumah's speech at Accra in opening the recent Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa will be of lasting significance. The following extracts form about one-third of the address, which was delivered on April 7.

THE beginning of the year 1960 has seen the climax of ruthless and concerted outrages on the peace-loving people of our continent.

In spite of several protests to General de Gaulle by the whole African continent and the United Nations General Assembly against exploding an atomic bomb on our continent, the French Government arrogantly exploded this nuclear device on our soil. As a result of this callous and inhuman attitude, the Government of Ghana took immediate action by freezing the assets of French firms in Ghana. Other African leaders and governments, indignant at this outrage, took other decisive measures against the French Government. I hope our reactions and protests will prevent the Government of France from exploding further atomic bombs on our continent.

Faced with this threat, the Government of Ghana, in consultation with other independent African States, have invited you to this conference; first to discuss and plan future action to prevent the further use of African soil as a testing ground for nuclear weapons; secondly, to consider effective means to prevent further brutalities against our defenceless brothers and sisters in South Africa, brutalities which are the result of the South African Government's racial policy of apartheid. Thirdly, this conference must consider the ways and means whereby Algeria can be helped to bring an end to this dismal flow of human blood consequent upon this lingering physical conflict which does neither of the combatants any good. That Algeria, a country in Africa, is French is a ridiculous concept. The sooner this fact is realised, the better will the French Government be able to adjust itself to the idea of negotiating peace with our valiant fighting brothers in Algeria.

LIBERATION

Lastly, but by no means the least important, we must consider the great



Among these, we must mention nuclear imperialism that dawned upon Africa on a tragic day last February when the French Government exploded an atomic bomb on our soil. Winds carried the poisonous debris from the explosion to various parts of Africa, including Ghana, and thus confounded the confident forecasts by so-called meteorological experts of France who claimed that there was no wind that could carry radio-active debris more than 700 miles from the site of the explosion. From the point of view of genetics, these atomic tests are extremely bad and can have the most disastrous effects.

The French test last February resulted in a very substantial increase in radio-activity. This was proved by British and Canadian scientists who were manning our monitoring stations here in Ghana. Their observations were confirmed by a French scientist who was invited by us to Ghana to observe things for himself.

gan in the Sahara. They left Ghana under the leadership of the Reverend Michael Scott, but were prevented from proceeding beyond the Upper Volta border by armed guards under the direction and control of French authorities. In order to make further attempts impossible, their vehicles and equipment were seized and have been kept by the French authorities up to now. Although they did not reach Reggan, they aroused many people to the dangers of nuclear imperialism. The team brought home to us the fact that the victims of these Bombs are not less human just because they would probably never be known.

Positive action has already achieved remarkable success in the liberation struggle of our continent and I feel sure that it can further save us from the perils of this atomic arrogance.

If the direct action that was carried out by the international protest team were to be repeated on a mass scale, or simultaneously from various parts of Africa, the result could be as powerful and as successful as Gandhi's historic Salt March.

We salute Mahatma Gandhi and we remember, in tribute to him, that it was in South Africa that his method of non-violence and non-co-operation was first practised in the struggle against the vicious race discrimination that still plagues that unhappy country.

But now positive action with non-violence, as advocated by us, has found expression in South Africa in the defiance of the oppressive pass laws. This defiance continues in spite of the murder of unarmed men, women and children by the South African Government. We are sure that the will of the majority will ultimately prevail, for no Government can continue to impose its rule in face of the conscious defiance of the overwhelming masses of its people. There is no force, however impregnable, that a united and determined people cannot overcome.

MASS PROTEST

—PRIME MINISTER NKRUMAH

awakening conscience of mankind which rejects this primitive barbarism, and believe firmly in positive non-violent action.

But while we consider the new forms of imperialism and colonialism, let us not forget its crude blatant forms that wreak havoc in parts of our continent such as Algeria, Angola, Kenya, Ruanda Urundi, Nyasaland and in South Africa. The passive sympathy of the African masses must be converted into active participation in the struggle for the total emancipation of Africa.

ECONOMIC UNITY

We who are gathered here today wish to see all violent conflicts stopped; we wish to secure freedom and ensure security in Africa.

In order to do so we must mobilise all of the forces of peace for non-violent positive action in protest against these outrages, and for making the social and political changes which are necessary to prevent future conflicts.

I have often stressed the fact that Africa is not an extension of Europe or of any other continent, and that the attempts to balkanise her is inimical to African unity and progress.

We should not be so pre-occupied with the urgent problems of political independence as to overlook a scarcely less vital sphere—the economic sphere. Yet it is here, more than anywhere else, that we must look for the schemings of a politically frustrated colonialism. On the other hand, it is in the economic field also that we find the key to fruitful co-operation with other nations—at a functional level in the first instance—but leading to full political as well as economic unity that could be built up over wide regions, to extend finally throughout the length and breadth of our beloved continent. These measures cannot be put into force all at once.

These questions may perhaps be raised among the matters to be discussed at the meeting of Heads of Independent States at

racial policy of apartheid. Thirdly, this conference must consider the ways and means whereby Algeria can be helped to bring an end to this dismal flow of human blood consequent upon this lingering physical conflict which does neither of the combatants any good. That Algeria, a country in Africa, is French is a ridiculous concept. The sooner this fact is realised, the better will the French Government be able to adjust itself to the idea of negotiating peace with our valiant fighting brothers in Algeria.

LIBERATION

Lastly, but by no means the least important matter to be considered, is the great issue facing the whole of our people: the total liberation of Africa and the necessity to alert the people of Africa against the new form of colonialism and its attempts to balkanise the continent and so prevent African unity. This conference is called, therefore, to plan concerted positive action for peace and security in Africa.

Fellow Africans, you all know that foreign domination in Africa effectively disintegrated the personality of the African people. For centuries colonialism sowed seeds of dissension in order to promote disunity among us.

It is therefore with great pride and happiness that we note how resurgent Africa is witnessing to-day what is by no means a humble beginning of the process of re-integration of the African personality, and forging closer and stronger bonds of unity which are bound to bring us to our ultimate goal: the attainment of a union of African States and Republics which, to my mind, is the only solution to the problems that face us in Africa to-day.

Fellow Africans and friends, there are two threatening swords of Damocles hanging over our continent, and we must remove them.

These are nuclear tests in the Sahara by the French Government and the apartheid policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

It would be a great mistake to imagine that the achievement of political independence by certain areas in Africa would automatically mean the end of the struggle. It is merely the beginning of the end of the struggle. We must watch out for and expose the various forms of the new imperialism with which we are threatened.

of Africa, including Ghana, and thus confounded the confident forecasts by so-called meteorological experts of France who claimed that there was no wind that could carry radio-active debris more than 700 miles from the site of the explosion. From the point of view of genetics, these atomic tests are extremely bad and can have the most disastrous effects.

The French test last February resulted in a very substantial increase in radio-activity. This was proved by British and Canadian scientists who were manning our monitoring stations here in Ghana. Their observations were confirmed by a French scientist who was invited by us to Ghana to observe things for himself.

I must emphasise that five eminent physicists—three Japanese, one American and one French, two of them Nobel Prize-winners—have announced that more than 1,000,000 people will die as a result of such explosions. They stated also, among other things, that "elementary calculation" showed that the fall-out from each "super-bomb" provoked the birth of 15,000 abnormal children. How can we, in the face of these facts, keep quiet? We must all with one voice vehemently protest against the holding of any more nuclear tests in the Sahara.

In spite of world protests and condemnation of its first test, the Government of France has actually carried out its intention by exploding the second Bomb in the Sahara.

DIRECT ACTION

The Government of Ghana, as I have said, has already taken action by freezing all French assets until the extent of the damage to the life and health of her people becomes known. Since the explosion of the second Bomb, she has also recalled her Ambassador to France. But a critical situation such as this calls for concerted action and it will be for the committees of this conference to discuss what action can be taken to prevent further nuclear outrages in Africa. Another committee will discuss positive direct action to prevent further tests.

Last December and January an international team consisting of representatives from Ghana and other parts of Africa, as well as members from Britain, the United States and even from France itself, attempted to enter the testing site at Reg-

unhappy country.

But now positive action with non-violence, as advocated by us, has found expression in South Africa in the defiance of the oppressive pass laws. This defiance continues in spite of the murder of unarmed men, women and children by the South African Government. We are sure that the will of the majority will ultimately prevail, for no Government can continue to impose its rule in face of the conscious defiance of the overwhelming masses of its people. There is no force, however impregnable, that a united and determined people cannot overcome.

MASS PROTEST

Future positive direct action against French nuclear tests might, for instance, take the form of a mass non-violent attempt to proceed towards the testing area. It would not matter if not a single person ever reached the site, for the effect of hundreds of people from every corner of Africa and from outside it crossing the artificial barriers that divide Africa to risk imprisonment and arrest, would be a protest that the people of France, with the exception of the de Gaulle Government, and the world could not ignore.

In my view, therefore, this conference ought to consider the setting up of a training centre where volunteers would learn the essential disciplines of concerted positive action. Such an establishment might also become the centre for such needed research into the philosophy and technique of positive action which, in the age of nuclear madness and apartheid arrogance, offers the greatest single hope for peace, security and brotherhood among mankind.

General de Gaulle is reported to have said recently that while other countries have enough nuclear weapons to destroy the whole world, France must also have nuclear weapons with which to defend herself. I would say here, and no doubt you all join me, that Africa is not interested in such "defence" which means no more than the ability to share in the honour of destroying mankind. We in Africa wish to live and develop. We are not freeing ourselves from centuries of imperialism and colonialism only to be maimed and destroyed by nuclear weapons. We do not threaten anyone and we renounce the foul weapons that threaten the every existence of life on this planet. Rather we put our trust in the

peace as to overlook a scarcely less vital sphere—the economic sphere. Yet it is here, more than anywhere else, that we must look for the schemings of a politically frustrated colonialism. On the other hand, it is in the economic field also that we find the key to fruitful co-operation with other nations—at a functional level in the first instance—but leading to full political as well as economic unity that could be built up over wide regions, to extend finally throughout the length and breadth of our beloved continent. . . . These measures cannot be put into force all at once.

These questions may perhaps be raised among the matters to be discussed at the meeting of Heads of Independent States at Addis Ababa next June.

The cardinal principle upon which the peace and security of this continent depends is the firm insistence that Africa is not an extension of Europe or of any other continent. A corollary of this principle is the resolution that Africa is not going to become a cockpit of the Cold War, or a marshalling ground for attack on either West or East, nor is it going to be an arena for fighting out the East-West conflict.

In this particular sense, we face neither East nor West: we face forward.

For the last ten years the tone of international politics has been set by the Cold War. We understand the fears on both sides that have led to this tragic polarisation, but Africans have no intention of becoming part of it. We have seen what happens when small nations become involved in it. We have also seen, on the other hand, what can happen when the spirit of Bandung prevails and the Powers who stand outside this conflict use their good offices as conciliators and mediators through the United Nations, as in the stopping of the Korean War. That is the role which we Africans wish to play. I refuse to accept that dictum that if you are not for me you are against me. Our slogan is "Positive Neutrality." This is our contribution to international peace and world progress.

There can be no peace or security in Africa without freedom and political unity. So long as one inch of African soil remains under colonial rule there will be strife and conflict. So long as any group on this continent denies the principle of one-man one-vote, and uses its power to maintain its

NEW YORK CIVIL DEFENCE PROTEST ON MAY 3

PEACE NEWS, April 22, 1960—3

PITY THE WAR PROFITEERS

AIR raid sirens on Tuesday, May 3, warning the public to seek shelter against mock attack, will be the signal for a large-scale demonstration at New York City Hall against Civil Defence exercises.

The Civil Defence Protest Committee, co-ordinators of the rally, forecast that many demonstrators would choose arrest rather than participate in the annual "Operation Alert." Others will remain in the open until ordered to move by the police.

"The demonstration will differ from past protests in one important respect," a Committee spokesman has announced. "It will be much larger. Previously only pacifist groups risked arrest to fight these drills; now we have the co-operation of individuals as diverse as Brooklyn housewives and Manhattan ministers."

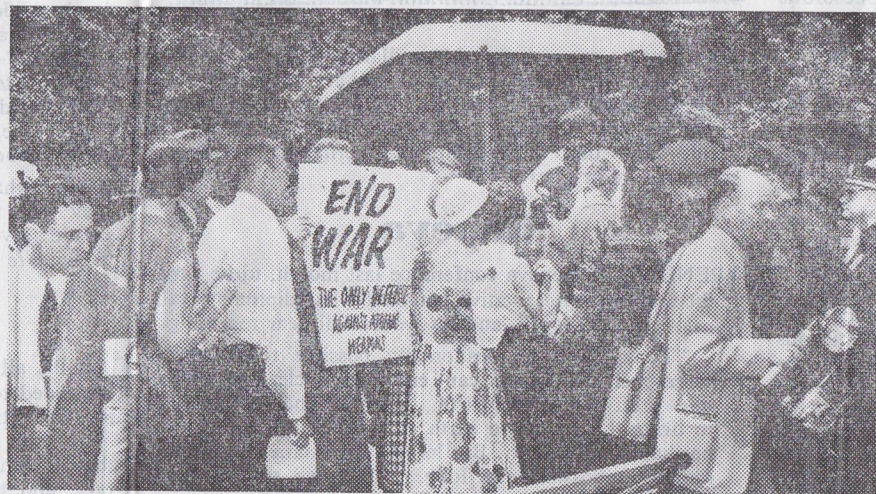
Futility

The Committee, a non-partisan, city-wide organisation, was created to combat "the futility of civilian defence preparations in an era when there is no defence against massive nuclear war."

"Rather than defend the public," the spokesman explained, "CD drills only create a false sense of security and passive acceptance of World War III."

The demonstrators will gather at City Hall Park shortly before the alert. They will sit quietly until the sirens blow and the lunch-hour crowds seek shelter. They will continue to sit quietly until arrested or, in some cases, are asked to leave by police.

Among sponsors of the Committee are A. J. Muste, Homer Jack and Robert Gilmore. The Committee's address is: Room 10, 158 Grand Street, New York (WA 5-9415 or BE 3-0462).



This was New York five years ago: demonstrators refusing to take shelter during a Civil Defence mock alert are arrested and packed into police transport.
Photo: New York Times

Training programme in non-violence planned for August

A SIXTEEN-DAY intensive study of the non-violent method is planned for this summer by Peacemakers, the US radical war resisters' movement. There will be exploratory discussions in the mornings and evenings, and afternoon workshops in direct action, in the creative process and in constructive work.

The training programme—from August 20 to September 4—will be held at the former Manumit School, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

The first weekend will include planning and carrying out a simple action, such as a lunch-counter sit-in or testing a racially segregated swimming pool.

The following four days will be spent considering violence, its forms and nature. This will include economic, political, psychological and social violence, and the basis of opposition to it.

"Resistance to the Old Society" will

—by imposing new injustices and causing new degradations."

Students at three previous training programmes, say Peacemakers, "have put their training to good use by playing active roles in the non-violent activities which are giving new hope to men and women all over the world."

Applications for this summer's programme should be sent to: Hal Witt, Washington 6 DC, 802 19th St. NW.

PPU SUMMER SCHOOL TO DISCUSS 'Violence—Its Causes

LOOKING through some old press cuttings recently, I found one dated 1952 quoting a well-known City Editor: "An American trade recession seems unlikely so long as the Korean War continues."



That war ended, plunging thousands of shareholders into gloom and despondency. After that their fortunes varied. The cold war warmed up and the arms trade revived. Then Stalin and Foster Dulles left us and went off to make trouble beyond the Brink, and the Great Powers shook hands and settled down amicably to reject each others' disarmament proposals.

So the war profiteers aren't beaten yet. Large-scale war may be unlikely, but top-level statesmen have a genius for avoiding agreement, and Summit meetings will probably go on for 20 years. Peace has entered upon the scene, but she's armed to the teeth and answers to the name of Two-gun Paxie.

I mention all this because Peace News must be classed among the War Profiteers.

So far we have thrived upon death and destruction or threats thereof. When Peace casts her shadow over the economic field our circulation flops and we suffer a trade recession.

The week the Korean War started a friend said to me: "Used to read your paper once. Looks like I'll have to start reading it again!"

You see? People welcome PN in war-time, forget us in peace-time. Armaments industries can switch from swords to ploughshares, but PN cannot hope to compete successfully with the Farmers' Weekly.

But the fact is, of course, the volcano is by no means extinct. Liberty, Equality and No Racial Distinctions is the slogan of today, and henceforth one nation after another will seek to assert its independent status by trying to keep up with the Nuclear-Joneses.

So what with the world-wide distribution of stockpiles offering increasing opportunities to the adult delinquents in our midst, the need for disarmament propaganda is as great as ever.

NKRUMAH

● FROM
PAGE TWO

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PAGE TWO

privilege, there will be insecurity for the oppressors and constant resentment and revolt on the part of the oppressed. These are the elementary facts of life in Africa today. No man will this situation and no man can stem the tide or divert the "winds of change." We decry violence and deplore it. We are devoted to non-violent positive action. Experience has shown that when change is too long delayed or stubbornly resisted, violence will erupt here and there—not because men planned it and willed it, but because the accumulated grievances of the past erupt with volcanic fury.

Fellow Africans: Africa is marching forward to freedom and no power on earth can halt her now. Our salvation and strength and our only way out of these ravages in Africa lies in political union.

This is not a mere dream. This is an objective worthy and capable of achievement, and I for one am prepared to serve under any African leader who is able to offer the proper guidance in this great issue of our time.

In my view, conferences, protests and petitions may have their usefulness, but such usefulness is undoubtedly limited. The only answer to the several difficulties facing our continent is actual union of our various states and territories.

Finally, by our concerted non-violent positive action we can help to ensure that this march forward is a swift and peaceful one.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

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The following four days will be spent considering violence, its forms and nature. This will include economic, political, psychological and social violence, and the basis of opposition to it.

"Resistance to the Old Society" will occupy August 26 and 27, including anti-war activity, anti-colonialism and resistance to racial discrimination.

FREE RELATIONS

The last eight days will then be spent on the development of free, non-violent relations. This will range over the whole area of work, the creative process, sex, children, education, food, crime and punishment, new economic relationships and movements such as those of Danilo Dolci, the Catholic Worker, and Peacemakers.

Books recommended as preparation for the programme are: Anne Braden, *THE WALL BETWEEN*; Michel del Castillo, *CHILD OF OUR TIME*; Richard Gregg, *THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE*; Thoreau, *ESSAY ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE*; Tolstoy, *THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU*; and Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer (editors), *PRISON ETIQUETTE*.

"All over the world," say Peacemakers, "small groups of aroused men and women are marching, picketing, conducting tax strikes, invading war plants and lying in front of munitions trucks to clog the war-making activities of the state."

"These are small beginnings but they give hope that a new method is evolving for challenging injustice and human degradation without ending—as revolutionary movements have done so often in the past

PPU SUMMER SCHOOL TO DISCUSS 'Violence—Its Causes and Remedies'

"**VIOLENCE—Its Causes and Remedies**" is the title of the annual summer school of the Peace Pledge Union which takes place this year from August 13-20 at Clyne Castle, Swansea.

Dr. Robert Thouless, Reader in Educational Psychology at Cambridge University, will discuss violence in regard to personal relationships.

Violence "In Crime and Punishment" will be discussed by Frank Dawtry, General Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers.

West Indian

Eddie Burke, a West Indian on the staff of the High Commissioner for the West Indies in the UK, will cover the field of racial relations.

A well-known journalist, commentator on international affairs and *Peace News* contributor, Roy Sherwood, will discuss violence "In International Relations."

Running concurrently with this conference is a summer school organised by the War Resisters' International, of which the Peace Pledge Union is the British section.

Details of the conferences are available from the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1., and the War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

Sybil Morrison has been at a conference in Scotland. Her column will appear again next week.

You see? People welcome PN in war-time, forget us in peace-time. Armaments industries can switch from swords to ploughshares, but PN cannot hope to compete successfully with the Farmers' Weekly.

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So what with the world-wide distribution of stockpiles offering increasing opportunities to the adult delinquents in our midst, the need for disarmament propaganda is as great as ever.

B. J. BOOTHROYD

Contribution since April 8: £65 11s. 8d.
Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £362 11s. 11d.
We need £2,137.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Leyton, £1.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

No rates for Civil Defence

AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, leader of the Labour Group on Amesbury Rural District Council (Wilts.) and member of the National Executive of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, is to refuse that part of his rates which is spent on Civil Defence.

At a meeting of the Amesbury RDC on March 30, three Council members supported his motion to reject the payment of a cheque for £12 expenses incurred by the Council's Civil Defence Assistant on the grounds that no defence of the country could or did exist. Twelve Bombs would saturate water and food supplies with radio-activity.

I SHALL REFUSE

The *Salisbury Times* (April 1) quoted Austin Underwood as saying: "As a ratepayer I shall refuse to pay any money ascribable to CD."

At a previous Council meeting he urged a rejection of an estimated £338 expenditure for Civil Defence in the District. Six votes were cast for the motion, which was defeated.

The Aldermarch

THERE is one thing the Aldermarchers have shown us, anyway, and that is what a popular, democratic mass-demonstration is really like. None of us knew before. We were familiar enough with the dispirited May Day processions of portly trade unionists droning Socialist hymns, too familiar by half with the strutting myriads of the totalitarian storm-troops. None of us, until three years ago, had ever envisaged such a combination of spontaneity and order, seriousness and gaiety, discipline and informality, as Nelson looked down on over Easter.

Nobody who participated, either this year or last, can doubt any longer that a wind of change has sprung up in Britain as well as in Africa. Here, as there, a new generation is coming of age which will not easily be persuaded to entrust its future to old men and older methods. For, though the young were less conspicuous on this year's march, that was not because they were fewer, but only because more older people had caught their enthusiasm. It was still they who gave it its character. And that, surely, is as it should be. The very feature of these demonstrations which prompts some journalists to jeer (the same journalists who, not long ago, were deploring the apathy of the younger generation) has been the most heartening thing about them.

Portents

INDEED, if anything is to be feared, it is that the Aldermarch may become a respectable institution. Already there are some ominous portents. Already papers like *The Observer* and *New Statesmen* have begun commending the CND, not because they share its aims, but merely because it strengthens the hands of those pursuing more "practical"—i.e., conventional—policies.

If it does strengthen these, so much the better. And there can be little doubt that it does. If the men of Suez are barely recognisable to-day, we have partly the Aldermarchers to thank for it. If the British Government no longer supposes that its prestige is indissolubly bound up with its possession of an "independent deterrent," if it can even go through the motions of forwarding general disarmament, that is because it must trim its sails to the wind at home as much as abroad.

But don't let us be deceived. It is a very far cry from abandoning the independent deterrent to abandoning the policy of deterrence; nor is there the slightest evidence (even in its own report) for the *News Chronicle's* surmise of April 14 that, "in cancelling Britain's long-range missile Blue Streak, Mr. Macmillan is gambling on complete international disarmament before 1965." There is no evidence that he is even gambling on nuclear disarmament—it would certainly be surprising if he were. The father of Premium Bonds must have some notion of odds.

Attlee's egg

COMMENTARY

By

Bruce Odspur

no reason to suppose that Macmillan is doing more than yield, belatedly, to the dictates of military expediency. If he is gambling on anything, it is simply on closer Anglo-American collaboration. And nothing is less likely to result from that than complete international disarmament, before or after 1965.

Geneva

OPENING the Geneva conference last month, to be sure, the British representative sounded what diplomats call "a note of urgency"—and his words will bear repeating:

"Today it is unquestionably possible to put very large weights, which can embrace nuclear weapons, into orbit round the earth, but it is not yet possible to bring them back to earth at a selected spot. Let us be thankful for that. But let us not assume that it will remain impossible for long. Then we should have reached a point of no return."

Ormsby-Gore went on to recall the occasion, 15 years ago, "when we missed the golden opportunity to ensure that nuclear energy was not used for any but peaceful purposes"—the occasion, that is, when Russia rejected the Baruch Plan for international ownership and control of atomic plant. "We do not wish to miss another such point of no return," he concluded.

Yet nothing in the remainder of his speech, nor in the exchanges that have followed, suggests that the lesson of 1945 has been learned. For what is the outstanding, the most publicised stipulation of the present Western plan?—an International Disarmament Organisation, not only to verify, but to enforce, every stage of disarmament, and to remain in being as an International Police Force.

The Baruch Plan was rejected by Russia because it meant submitting the entire world's atomic power to a predominantly non-Communist, anti-Communist authority. Had Russia proposed that the authority be predominantly Communist, it would have been rejected by the West for precisely the same reasons. It was still-born, in short, because both sides preferred "freedom" with the risk of annihilation to peace with the risk of subjection, and neither could trust the other not to pervert an international agency to its own advantage. That is still the case, and that alone would be enough to foredoom the new plan as it stands.

This International Police Force, with its international truncheon and handcuffs, is as much a pipe-dream as those inimitable "internal security forces" which, according to the Russians, only the blackest misanthropy could ever suspect of operating beyond their own frontiers. The West can hardly be expected to believe in the latter; neither can the Russians in the former, and even

disarmament—that long looked-for, long-promised suspension of nuclear tests? Even that appears, if anything, more remote than it did in March—when, after 17 months and close on 200 meetings, Russia accepted the US proposal for a limited ban.

Not that the US, this time, replied by withdrawing its proposals, embarrassing though the acceptance must have been. That would have been too great an outrage to world opinion. But, as it happened, there was no need for it to do so. For one thing, the composition of the international inspectorate has still to be settled at the "Summit"—and it is easy to imagine what scope that will offer to Pentagon saboteurs. For another, the arch-saboteur, de Gaulle, has given unequivocal notice that he, for one, has no intention of suspending his own tests, above or below ground, whatever anyone else may do.

I wonder what the Western response would be if Khrushchev were to propose that an International Police Force should give preliminary proof of its practicality by bringing *le grand Charles* to book?

The moral

I HOPE all this does not sound discouraging. It is not intended to do so. It is intended, on the contrary, only to substantiate what we have been contending all along—that the more nuclear Powers there are in the world, the less chance there will be of ever halting the arms race, and that to halt the arms race, even now, bolder and more imaginative methods are likely to be called for than any existing Government would consider. Which, I take it, is the Aldermarchers real justification.

Nevertheless, a question occurs to me—suggested as much by the campaigns against apartheid as by those against the Bomb—which I would like to throw out here.

There is a clear affinity between these campaigns (oddly high-lighted by the convergence of the Aldermarchers and the South African cricketers on London Airport last Sunday). It is not only that they are swelled by the same wind of change, and appeal to the same wide cross-section of public opinion. The Direct Action demonstrators might be likened to the Africans themselves, the thousands who marched last weekend, to the many more thousands who have supported the South African boycott.

Yet there the analogy breaks down. For the boycott is itself a form of direct action, and one, moreover, which has two decisive recommendations. In the first place, it can be practised every day of the year by people who are unwilling for greater sacrifices; in the second, it has the significance of drawing attention to the ramifications of our everyday, economic activities, and, at one point at least, bringing these into line with our principles. Is there no equivalent gesture which could be commended to unilateralists?

Of course, there is not one of our economic activities, from production to purchase, which we ought not really to scrutinise, asking ourselves, "Does this, or does it not, make for a *qualitatively* higher standard of living?" I am wholly of Wilfred Wellock's mind in this matter. (How many people who would think twice before allowing an open sewer to run through their houses yet sub-

longer supposed to add its prestige to the world's peace with its possession of an "independent deterrent," if it can even go through the motions of forwarding general disarmament, that is because it must trim its sails to the wind at home as much as abroad.

But don't let us be deceived. It is a very far cry from abandoning the independent deterrent to abandoning the policy of deterrence; nor is there the slightest evidence (even in its own report) for the *News Chronicle's* surmise of April 14 that, "in cancelling Britain's long-range missile Blue Streak, Mr. Macmillan is gambling on complete international disarmament before 1965." There is no evidence that he is even gambling on nuclear disarmament—and it would certainly be surprising if he were. The father of Premium Bonds must have some notion of odds.

Attlee's egg

ON economic and strategic grounds alone, Britain's H-bomb was always indefensible—the most obviously addled egg ever laid by a Labour or brooded by a Conservative Cabinet. It did not need the Pentagon to point that out. It did not even need Crossman. Indeed, if Crossman had not antagonised his leaders—if he had had the good sense to resign from the Shadow Cabinet before, instead of after, assailing its policy in Parliament—the chances are that the Opposition itself would have adopted his arguments by now. As it is, they are unlikely to persist in their paternal devotion much longer.

In cancelling Britain's long-range missile, therefore, there is

The Baruch Plan was rejected by Russia because it submitted the entire world's atomic power to a predominantly non-Communist, anti-Communist authority. Had Russia proposed that the authority be predominantly Communist, it would have been rejected by the West for precisely the same reasons. It was still-born, in short, because both sides preferred "freedom" with the risk of annihilation to peace with the risk of subjection, and neither could trust the other not to pervert an international agency to its own advantage. That is still the case, and that alone would be enough to foredoom the new plan as it stands.

This International Police Force, with its international truncheon and handcuffs, is as much a pipe-dream as those inimitable "internal security forces" which, according to the Russians, only the blackest misanthropy could ever suspect of operating beyond their own frontiers. The West can hardly be expected to believe in the latter; neither can the Russians in the former, and even if they could, they would have no small difficulty in persuading the Chinese to do likewise.

No wonder the US delegation at Geneva has been instructed to prepare for a year's haggling at least. They will be lucky if it is only a year—unless, of course, the Conference ends even sooner in the usual atomic bangs and whimpers of mutual recrimination.

The saboteurs

AND there is no small likelihood of that, if these practical men persist in their practical policies. For what, in the meantime, has become of the very first stage in

boycott. Yet there the analogy breaks down. For the boycott is itself a form of direct action, and one, moreover, which has two decisive recommendations. In the first place, it can be practised every day of the year by people who are unwilling for greater sacrifices; in the second, it has the significance of drawing attention to the ramifications of our everyday, economic activities, and, at one point at least, bringing these into line with our principles. Is there no equivalent gesture which could be commended to unilateralists?

Of course, there is not one of our economic activities, from production to purchase, which we ought not really to scrutinise, asking ourselves, "Does this, or does it not, make for a *qualitatively* higher standard of living?" I am wholly of Wilfred Wellock's mind in this matter. (How many people who would think twice before allowing an open sewer to run through their houses yet subscribe to the *Daily Express*?) It is no use opposing in words the expressions of a system we uphold in deeds; few can devote themselves exclusively to short-term campaigns; and even these few might draw more energy, and run less risk of disenchantment, from commitment to such a long-term experiment.

But that is a recommendation for the minority, already conscious of the nature of the system. What I am trying to think of now is some gesture, having the same significance as the boycott, which would be no less obviously and practically relevant to halting the race to genocide. Can anyone propose such a thing?

After imperialism

NIGERIA is to increase its army to defend the country's borders against aggression.

This was announced by the Federal Prime Minister, Alahji Sir Abubaker Tapwa Balewar, in the House of Representatives on April 14.

He said he was considering the establishment of a Nigerian air force and the building of a munitions factory.

His announcement—on the eve of Africa day—was greeted by cheers from members. Among factors that have contributed to this demand for greater military strength are disturbances in the neighbouring Cameroon Republic and tensions on the Ghana-Togo border.

Chinese submarines

THE Chinese Prime Minister has hinted about building atomic submarines.

Mr. Chou En-lai did this last Saturday, the second day of his visit to Burma.

According to a *Reuter* report from Ran-

goon, he told the head of the Burmese Navy, Commodore Than Pe: "We are building submarines, but the question of powering them with atomic energy is still in the experimental stage."

Hanging, shooting, gassing etc.

THE United Nations is making a major study of capital punishment in the world.

This was resolved by the UN Economic and Social Council during its Spring session from April 5-20.

The Council considered the General Assembly's resolution of last autumn asking it to "initiate" a study covering laws and practices relating to capital punishment, and the effects of the death penalty and its abolition on the rate of crime.

The Council adopted unanimously a proposal by Chile asking the Secretary-General to prepare by Spring, 1962, "a factual re-

view of the various aspects of the question of capital punishment" referred to by the Assembly.

Another denial debunked

LAST year about 50,000 West Germans emigrated to East Germany—more than one-third of the flow of refugees in the other direction.

This was officially admitted in Bonn on April 11 by a spokesman of the Ministry of All-German Questions.

Previously the West German Government had always insisted that the proportion did not exceed 10 per cent. According to *The Times*, Herr Lemmer, the Minister, recently dismissed as "absurd" reports that this figure was wrong.

In 1958, the paper also stated, 203,000 refugees flowed to the West, compared with 143,000 the following year. About 70 per cent of those who went East returned after

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

a few weeks, compared with only 10 per cent returning from West to East.

PEACE NEWS

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Nazis in East Germany

THE year-old report quoted from *Reynolds News* (PN April 8) on Nazis in East Germany throws an important light on the problem of the two Germanys in that it has a sequel. Some weeks later *Reynolds News* reported that (apparently as a direct result of their article) several of the people mentioned had been removed from office and one, Ernst Grossman, had been committed for trial as a war criminal, having been able until then to hide his past due to the confusion in Germany at the end of the war.

We spent some weeks teaching in East Germany last year and one thing that was quite clear was the effort made to eradicate Nazism and racialism. The crimes of the Nazis were publicised, but everyone was made to feel guilty for permitting them and had to make atonement.

Buchenwald is a national monument and is visited each weekend by thousands of people (especially young people) in organised parties. They are shown round by guides who are ex-camp inmates and explain the responsibility for the Nazis. (Contrariwise, reports in the British press inform us that newspapers in the Bergen-Belsen area claim that tales of atrocities there are Allied propaganda and that the deaths were caused by unscientific feeding of inmates by British troops !)

Eighty per cent of teachers in East Germany were sacked in 1945 because of their Nazi past, and in spite of grave shortage difficulties thus caused only three per cent were later re-employed who had proved to be only nominal Nazis and had shown a clear break with the past. History textbooks deal at length with Nazi crimes and attack race prejudice, again a clear difference from the West.

In 1949 a number of prominent people previously associated with no party came together to form the National Democratic Party as a means of allowing reformed ex-Nazis to partake in political life *under supervision*, so that they would not join the other four political parties.

Obviously, there must be ex-Nazis in Germany since so many were forced into conformity. What matters is how important they were under the Nazis and whether they can today retain high positions without giving up their Nazi opinions. It is from this viewpoint that the difference between the two Germanys is most striking.

by taking part in the manufacture of these weapons should be begun at once. Leaflets do not reach sufficient minds.

Walking from Aldermaston to hear the same old speeches in Trafalgar Square will never stop the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. A real mass propaganda effort by all the peace movements to persuade workers to quit work on these weapons is the only answer. It may not yet be too late.—What do your readers think?—**R. A. FLOREY, 30 Robin Lane, Pudsey, Yorks.**

Catholics and war

MY letter (PN, March 18) was primarily about a moral principle, and only secondarily about its application to modern war. May I say that all the conclusions mentioned or hinted at by readers as to how I think this principle applies to nuclear war are mistaken. How my letter could be construed as permitting nuclear war policy is beyond me. I expressly said that such policy entailed arrogating to oneself rights which nobody can ever possess. I base this statement on the belief that both the right to self-defence by force, and the limits of its exercise, are grounded in human nature as God has ordained it, and as the Catholic Church expounds it. This right is not removed just because present conditions make its just exercise impossible.

This brings me to Miss Morrison's reply to my question, whether we have this right. Unfortunately, she chose to answer the quite different question, whether we *should* have the right. The implication here is that it is up to men to decide what rights to allow themselves. This kind of thinking is the very basis of apartheid, Jew baiting, and slavery and persecution—the very beastliness we are trying to destroy. In my view, we cannot succeed in a non-violent approach on the basis of a principle which provides good grounds for the very thing we oppose. That is why Christian non-violence, which is necessarily a matter of renouncing natural rights to force, in the name of supernatural charity, is a more promising solution than merely humanitarian pacifism. But the corollary must be faced: you can't renounce what you do not already possess.—**B. J. WICKER, 304 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.**

Power for whom?

ONE of the main points of my letter (PN, March 25) was that the



On the march . . . IN WHITEHALL

The Quaker contingent numbered around 1,100, about 3 per cent of the Quakers in Britain.

French and Algerians marched together in the international contingent.

Stephanie May brought the marchers greetings from the American Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

It was the largest, as well as the most orderly and disciplined public demonstration ever, the police told the Press, larger than VE or VJ days.

Hundreds were waiting in Whitehall an hour before the march arrived. Newspaper placards announced "March latest"; "Report and picture"; "Aldermaston March, news and comments."

"Outer Hebrides says 'No' to the bomb" was among the Scottish banners.

The Methodist Peace Fellowship banner was followed by a contingent of 200; the Peace Pledge Union Nuclear Disarmament Group by about 100. Other pacifist sections were those of The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Labour Peace Fellowship, Universalist Church, Pacifist Youth Action Group, Southend Peace Pledge Union.

The student contingent, which included a

fifty years for a man and fifty-five for a woman. When you are sixty it is only ten for a man and fifteen for a woman.—*Cassandra, Mirror, Apr. 19.*

I don't believe there is a tenable halfway house between unqualified pacifism and the position of most of the rest of us, who want general, but not unilateral, disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament.—*Harold Hutchinson, Herald, Apr. 16.*

The organisation . . . was highly efficient . . . on occasion an ambulance was able to move through at speed, such was the cohesion of the arrangements.—*Times Special Correspondent, Apr. 19.*

Who are these people? What do they really think they are doing? Have they used their heads? Far too many of them, I thought, are exhibitionists, show-offs.—*Rene MacColl, Express, Apr. 19.*

Ban the Bomb is a good slogan; the positive argument comes less readily. That is the problem to come. Meanwhile this strange week-end is over at last, with, at last, something more to show for its pains than sore feet; a certain triumph. Those of us who were privileged to share both saw at least a glimpse that made the human race something to which one is not ashamed to belong.—*James Cameron, News Chronicle, Apr. 19.*

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Obviously, there must be ex-Nazis in Germany since so many were forced into conformity. What matters is how important they were under the Nazis and whether they can today retain high positions without giving up their Nazi opinions. It is from this viewpoint that the difference between the two Germanys is most striking.—S. R. and E. BROADBRIDGE, 144, Wendover Rd., Wythenshawe, Manchester 23.

Withdrawal of labour

FOR two years now I have urged that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament should call upon the TUC to ban all work on nuclear weapons, bomber bases and rocket sites by trade union members. The TUC should also call upon their equivalent bodies to do the same in the Soviet Union and the USA.

I still maintain that the only way to win the peace we all yearn for is a blacking of all work on nuclear weapons. It may still not be too late. A national poster campaign to inform the men and women in the factories of the crimes they are likely to commit

and slavery and persecution—the very beastliness we are trying to destroy. In my view, we cannot succeed in a non-violent approach on the basis of a principle which provides good grounds for the very thing we oppose. That is why Christian non-violence, which is necessarily a matter of renouncing natural rights to force, in the name of supernatural charity, is a more promising solution than merely humanitarian pacifism. But the corollary must be faced: you can't renounce what you do not already possess.—B. J. WICKER, 304 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

Power for whom?

ONE of the main points of my letter (PN, March 25) was to emphasise the dangers of thinking in generalisations.

Mr. Otter (PN, April 15) uses the phrase "the common man," and I think it is because he has not thought of particular individuals that he takes issue with me.

I agree with him that "Towards a Non-violent Society"* says that democracy can only be vital if power is devolved. The assumption here is that devolved power is good and concentrated power is bad; the common man is good, the dictator is bad.

Generally speaking, devolved power is less bad than concentrated power, I would agree, but there is no necessity about it. It is not impossible to imagine a dictator who believed in and practised freedom for his subjects as against a lot of "devolved" little tyrants. (Think of some of our town councils who forbid council tenants to grow flowers above an approved height, etc).

"Towards a Non-violent Society" does not ignore the individual. What it does do (and I am sure unwittingly) is to ignore the freedom of the individual.

It may be that a democracy is the best way of achieving a free society (by that I mean each individual being free to do as he wishes, to the point where this freedom impinges on the other person's similar freedom). But it is freedom that matters, not democracy.

Until progressive-minded people realise this, they are liable to achieve more democracy only to find they have got less freedom.

The important thing is the principle (freedom) upon which the ruling body works, not the make-up of the ruling body.—H. DALBY, 17 Newstead Rd., Middlesbrough.

*By J. Allen Skinner, *Peace News*, 6d.

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The student contingent, which included a University of California banner, stretched the length of Whitehall.

FROM THE SPEECHES

Jesus was crucified because He was a menace to the established set-up of His time. This is the very heart of the matter. We want to live and have peace in the world and we can only do it by challenging the established set-up of society when it insists on building up huge armaments.—Canon Collins in Falcon Field, Good Friday.

The saints simply must march in. Church people must wash their hands of preparation of nuclear weapons and march in on this situation. If we don't, then we might as well pack in.

Go home to your church and find out why the people, including the parsons, are not in the forefront of this movement. We have the ball at our feet provided we don't wait for other people to do things.—The Very Rev. George Macleod, Trafalgar Square.

The factory at Aldermaston has grown larger since we were there last year.—John Horner, Fire Brigades Union.

From the beginning of our history more than 300 years ago we (Quakers) have said no to all war which is a sin against God and Man. We say not only ban the bomb, but the damn lot.—Robert Davis, Chairman of the Friends Peace Committee.

THE COLUMNISTS

Some people have been surprised at the youth of thousands of the Aldermaston demonstrators. May I suggest one reason? Young folks have more life to lose. When you are twenty the expectation of life is

move rapidly at speed, such as the cohesion of the arrangements.—Times Special Correspondent, Apr. 19.

Who are these people? What do they really think they are doing? Have they used their heads? Far too many of them, I thought, are exhibitionists, show-offs.—Rene MacColl, *Express*, Apr. 19.

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THE EDITORIALS

What happens if the bomb is scrapped? Will not the return to conventional weapons make conventional war more, and not less, likely? We can be content with nothing less than general disarmament. However remote that may seem at present, the fear of the bomb shared by all the great Powers who possess it is the only guarantee that the long road will in the end be travelled. Your own march has been much shorter. It has soothed your consciences and flattered your vanity. But has it not also stopped your thinking.—Telegraph, Apr. 18.

The complete unilateral nuclear disarmament advocated by the campaign is not a practical policy. But the campaign has focused public attention on the problem of nuclear arms as the most important issue of world politics.—Observer, Apr. 17.

We stand by our belief that unilateral nuclear disarmament is a misguided policy. . . . In our view the only possible answer is through disarmament by agreement.—News Chronicle, Apr. 19.

Though some may scorn the marchers' methods, few of us in our hearts deny the common sense of their mission.—Sketch, Apr. 19.

The Mirror thinks this is the wrong way to end the H-threat. But once again the Mirror unreservedly applauds the public spirit of all those who spent an uncomfortable Easter holiday drawing attention to the fearful dangers of the nuclear arms race.—Mirror, Apr. 19.

Try to get 10,000 people to spend their Easter marching for any other cause. That is the measure of the feeling against nuclear weapons. That is the measure of the support for sanity in world politics.—Herald, Apr. 16.

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AN APPEAL TO YOUTH

THIS article is something of an open letter to young English and American pacifists. It concerns the increasing responsibility which youth must shoulder if war is to be averted.

I have tried to say before and shall say again here that the crisis which confronts us is the "split" between a backward culture and a swiftly advancing technology. We have not advanced as much, culturally, in the last ten thousand years as we have advanced, technically, in the last one hundred years.

We are a young race. There is really no such thing as "ancient history." The first trace of civilisation dates back only six thousand years. If we said the whole time that man has been on earth was equal to one full day, then the period covered by civilisation—back to the very beginning in Sumer and Egypt—would amount to less than five minutes in that twenty-four hours. And so I repeat that a mere six thousand years separates us from roaming tribes of savages, or the first barbarians grubbing with pointed sticks in primitive agriculture.

We think we are civilised but of course we are not. We have only barely laid the foundations upon which someday civilisation shall rise. Up to this point, civilisation as we know it is the record of animals struggling for survival with a little poetry and music thrown in. Up to this point all cultures have been centred around the problems of meeting the material, immediate needs of man. Only now, with technology, is it possible for us to create a culture in which those physical needs can be so completely met that we can centre the culture around the immaterial needs of man—for love, for art, for human dignity.

So here we are, only sixty centuries from the caves, and we suddenly have nuclear power and the choice of blowing ourselves to bits or creating a truly human culture. We have never, in our entire record as a civilised animal, learned to live in peace. And now we must either live in peace or cease living.

I am proud of man, make no mistake. He has come a long way in a short time.

By **David McReynolds**

The writer is on the staff of the US independent monthly magazine, Liberation, and a member of the American section of the War Resisters International.

Young people, with their hearts partly in the old culture and partly in the American culture, but the transition was finally made.

The whole world today is very much as "new" a world to all of us, as America was to those waves of European immigrants. Older adults were born and raised in the old world. But those of you under thirty were raised here in the "new world." If anyone can understand this new world, it will be you. You must take the leadership. It cannot be the older generation. We may love the old culture, with its marching men in uniform, its wonderful war stories, the sense of military adventure—but that is the old culture which we must give up.

Common assumption

THOSE of you under thirty must take a new look at yourselves. There seems to be a common assumption that young people are hot blooded, a little slow witted, good at sports, quite necessary for a war, but hardly qualified to make any really important decisions. Young people are considered clever enough in their own primitive way to learn how to fly bombers thousands of miles, or pilot submarines under the arctic ice, or invent nuclear weapons and assemble missiles. But God forbid they should be trusted with anything important—like politics and the destiny of man. In short, old men make policy, young men die for it.

But the problem is that today the old men do not really understand what is going on in the world around them. Changes are taking place so fast that the last person I would trust to make a really important decision is an old man. And the last thing I want old men doing is running politics.

There are exceptions of course. All of us

know of men like Bertrand Russell, A. J. Muste or Norman Thomas who speak good sense. But we follow them not because of their years but in spite of their years—they are men who intellectually have remained young, they have learned the language of this new world (often they understand it better than we who were born here). Unfortunately such men are rare. It is more common to find that tragic figure who says: "When you have lived as long as I have, you will realise I am right"—an almost certain guarantee that the poor man is dead wrong.

You who are young have got the responsibility of saving and of shaping the new world. What I am saying (or trying to say) is not the old stupid cliché about "the future belongs to youth" (which makes as much sense as to say "the past is behind us, but the future lies ahead"). I am trying to say that *you belong to the future*. And I am trying my best to get you to pay less attention to what the older generation says and to pay more attention to what you are saying and should be saying. What the older generation is saying is not, frankly, too important apart from a few exceptional men. Khrushchev and Eisenhower and Macmillan are not going to save the world. Maybe you can. Certainly if you can't, then no one can.

I do not lose hope that the crisis may be resolved because I see young men and women taking leadership. Castro's revolution—one of the few real revolutions in Latin America—is a young man's revolution. The leadership in Africa has been assumed by very young men like Tom Mboya. Martin Luther King, leader of the civil rights struggle in the United States, is just thirty years old, while the new movement in the South against segregation is being led by high school and college students. And I have

been enormously encouraged by the new leadership young people both in Britain and in the United States have shown in the peace movement.

But a word or two of caution. It is easy enough for those of you who are young to paint up your banner "Youth Must Lead" and go charging off into the street only to learn that no one is following. Let's face the concrete problems. We (or, more accurately, you—at thirty I no longer count as a youth) want to lead the world. Fine. How many of our people speak any language except English? If we plan to go all over hell and to help "underprivileged peoples" I think we had better start learning some languages. How many of our people understand modern physics? If we are going to run this new society in which we find ourselves, we better get a good grip on science. How many of our people have a good grasp of history? Of economics? Of psychology? How many of us are prepared to be arrested and tossed in jail? Leadership means standing in the front line.

The alternative

I HAVE said young people must lead the way. But leading the way does not mean shouting slogans and waving banners. It means taking responsibility. Let us take the examples of Gandhi and Lenin and we will see two revolutionary movements, very different in many ways, but absolutely alike in one respect—they did much more than attack the existing order. They were trained, they had plans, they had a solid core of young men and women who prepared an alternative to the existing order.

Let me close by saying this: Those young people who reject the past simply because they are carrying on a personal rebellion against their own families are really not going to be much help to us. What is needed is a youth movement which does not reject the past so much as it accepts the future—and that is the difference between irresponsible rebellion and responsible revolution.

around the problems of meeting the material, immediate needs of man. Only now, with technology, is it possible for us to create a culture in which those physical needs can be so completely met that we can centre the culture around the immaterial needs of man—for love, for art, for human dignity.

So here we are, only sixty centuries from the caves, and we suddenly have nuclear power and the choice of blowing ourselves to bits or creating a truly human culture. We have never, in our entire record as a civilised animal, learned to live in peace. And now we must either live in peace or cease living.

I am proud of man, make no mistake. He has come a long way in a short time. His record is impressive, but also disturbing. It is disturbing because, despite all the talk, few people seem to be really aware that the bombing of Hiroshima meant we were living in a new world. It is "historically imperative" for us to give up war if we are to survive. But our survival is not "historically imperative." That is a matter of will. It was just as "historically imperative" for the dinosaurs to move down from the Northern continents toward the equator when the ice age came. But they didn't move, or didn't move in time, and so they all died.

The 'adult' way

HOW does this all relate to youth? It relates in this way. If the race is going to change the way in which it thinks and acts, the young people are really the only hope for this change taking place. I would like to believe adults would respond in an "adult" way to the present situation, but the fact is they will not because they literally cannot. Once the clay has been baked, it is hard to reshape. Let me illustrate with another example.

As the immigrant groups came to the United States in great waves, they brought their old culture with them. They formed their own language groups, lived in their own sections of the city, published their own foreign language newspapers, and observed their own holidays. It wasn't that they didn't want to be Americans—they did—but that they did not know how to become a part of the new land. But their children, being born in this country, wanted to be Americans—not Poles, or Russians, or Germans or Italians. There was often tragedy for these second generation

bombers thousands of miles, or pilot submarines under the arctic ice, or invent nuclear weapons and assemble missiles. But God forbid they should be trusted with anything important—like politics and the destiny of man. In short, old men make policy, young men die for it.

But the problem is that today the old men do not really understand what is going on in the world around them. Changes are taking place so fast that the last person I would trust to make a really important decision is an old man. And the last thing I want old men doing is running politics.

There are exceptions of course. All of us

THE MODERN SOLDIER

By Ernest R. Bromley

Ernest Bromley is managing editor of *The Peacemaker*, the journal of the American pacifist action group, and has played a leading part in the American tax-refusal movement.

EACH lethal weapon has its day.

The sling-shot did; the bow-and-arrow did. Firearms and hand grenades had their day—and gave way to more effective forms of slaughter.

Each system has its day. The hired army did; the volunteer army did. The army of conscripted fighting men did—and gave way to more effective organisation for slaughter.

In our age the weapon is nuclear power, not man power. The system is conscription of money, not conscription of men. Conscripted fighting men have become an impediment, says Britain's Ministry of Defence—they are in the way.

Enormously expensive push-button weapons are required instead; so the prime objective is to obtain the necessary funds to create these. The system which is employed to get the funds is the Federal tax system, especially the individual income tax section—which provides most of the money.

Change from a military conscription to a conscription of money gives a new role to the khaki-clad lad on some far-off beach-head. He does not play the role of soldier he once did. Taking on the role of "soldier" are those who provide the funds required for research, testing and stockpiling. The taxpayers now become the "privates" in a new draft. And the "generals" are

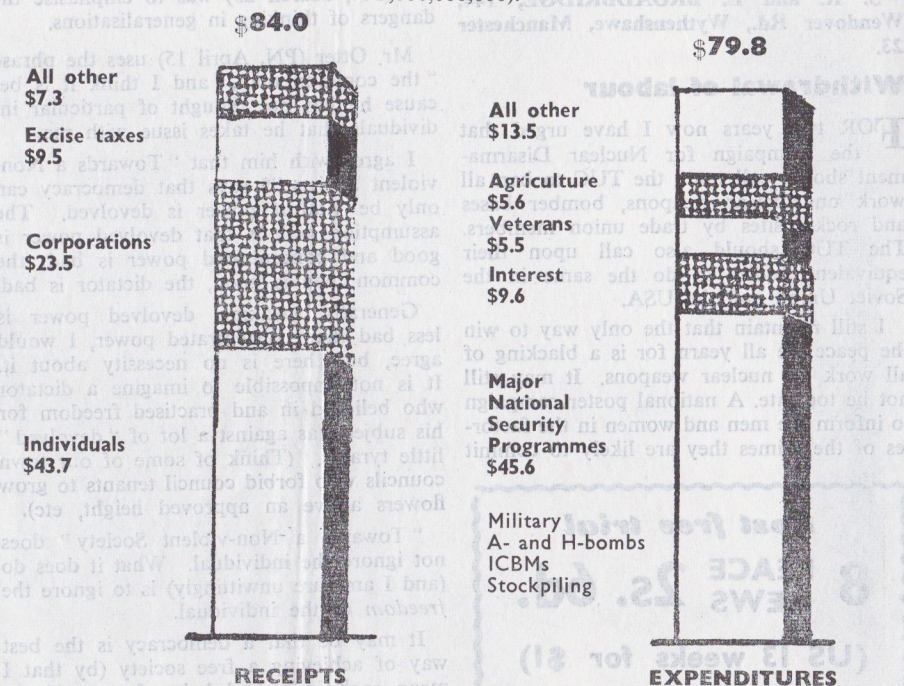
millen are not going to save the world. Maybe you can. Certainly if you can't, then no one can.

I do not lose hope that the crisis may be resolved because I see young men and women taking leadership. Castro's revolution—one of the few real revolutions in Latin America—is a young man's revolution. The leadership in Africa has been assumed by very young men like Tom Mboya. Martin Luther King, leader of the civil rights struggle in the United States, is just thirty years old, while the new movement in the South against segregation is being led by high school and college students. And I have

lutely alike in one respect—they did more than attack the existing order. They were trained, they had plans, they had a solid core of young men and women who prepared an alternative to the existing order.

Let me close by saying this: Those young people who reject the past simply because they are carrying on a personal rebellion against their own families are really not going to be much help to us. What is needed is a youth movement which does not reject the past so much as it accepts the future—and that is the difference between irresponsible rebellion and responsible revolution.

Fiscal year 1961 estimate in billions of dollars (An American billion = 1,000,000,000).



The above diagram of the US Federal Budget shows, on the right, the major activity of the Federal Government—war—and, on the left, the major source of Federal income—individual income tax. The diagram is based on a card being distributed by Peacemakers [10,208 Sylvan Avenue, (Gano), Cincinnati 41, Ohio].

no longer the men in charge of regiments of fighting men; the generals are top nuclear scientists in a new technician élite.

The system has changed. Many people like the change, whatever may be their objections to the current oppressiveness of Federal taxation. The change in systems allows them to participate more directly in what they believe is protection and strength.

But what about the pacifists? In a situation where the typist in an office, the worker in a factory, the teacher in a classroom, and the minister in a church take on more and more the role the soldier used to play, what are the pacifists going to do? It seems to me that if they continue to be pacifists, they will one by one in some manner break ranks with the system.

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MEETINGS

HOW TO END TYRANNY AND WAR. London Anarchist Group May Day Meeting. Union Hall Clerkenwell Road, E.C.1. (next to Holborn Hall) Sunday May 1st at 7.30 p.m., Anarchist speakers.

"NATURAL CHIDBIRTH." Mrs. Erna Wright. Caxton Hall, 7.30, Monday, April 25. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society. Details: 33 Sinclair Road, W.14.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District. Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with view of the fells. Isabel James Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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HOVE: Pax House, for individual attention, good food and homely atmosphere, h & c. Alfred & Malie Roth, 17, Melville Rd., Hove 2, Sussex. Telephone 70945.

KESWICK—Visit the Lake District for your holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian House, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort, friendly atmosphere. Write Mr. and Mrs. Lusby (V.C.A. Members) Tel. 508.

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INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London. S.W.1.

UNITY, Eus. 5391. Marghanita Laski's The Off-shore Island. Ten nuclear years hence? Fri., Sat., Sun., 7.45 p.m., Members.

My Bill against Britain's colour bar

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



I HAVE just been to see a Ghana film called "The Dawn." It is a beautiful film showing in vivid colours the loveliness of the coast and the country and the bright vivid life of the people. There is one phrase in the commentary which remains in my mind; "there is no discrimination on the grounds of race or religion in Ghana."

I know this to be true. It is more true since independence than it was before. There are more European people in Ghana now than there were before Kwame Nkrumah came to power. They mix freely with the African people as equals. One never thinks of race or religion or colour in Ghana.

This phrase stuck in my mind because the day before I had introduced a Bill in the House of Commons against discrimination on the grounds of colour, race or religion in the United Kingdom. It was the fifth time that I had presented the Bill over the last seven years. On every occasion no one opposed it on first reading, but when the Bill reached second reading a small group of Tories practised obstruction in every way so that it never got through.

My appeal to Members

On this occasion I appealed to the members of the House of Commons not only to endorse the first reading but to co-operate in passing the Bill through its remaining stages. I am afraid that there will be no response from the minority who do not want legislation against racial and religious discrimination. It is an ironical feature of our system of democracy that we give facilities to a mere handful of prejudiced politicians to hold up a measure which the majority of Members of Parliament would like to see enacted.

The Bill is peculiarly appropriate at this moment because the British people and our Parliament are shocked by the effects of racial discrimination in South Africa.

on the previous Friday it had unanimously agreed to a motion condemning apartheid in South Africa and urged that we could do this sincerely only if we end racial discrimination in this country. I think it is possible that some members of Parliament were affected by this plea. Nevertheless, I am afraid the chances are slim of getting my Bill through Parliament this session. I shall have to introduce it for a sixth and perhaps a seventh time. They say that seven is lucky!

Proving race prejudice

How far is there racial prejudice in Britain? I would say that it is less than in many countries, but it is wider than most people suspect. One has only to look through the advertisement columns of a local newspaper in a middle class suburb of London to find evidence of this. In advertisement after advertisement offering lodgings in private houses the fatal words will be read: "no coloured person need apply."

One must recognise that racial discrimination cannot be ended by legislation. Prejudice can be removed only by education and experience and by the growth of civilised opinions. One must also always have some respect for personal views, however, wrong, and prejudiced they may seem. For example, I don't think society would have the right to say to a woman who takes in lodgers that she must have a coloured person, a Jew or an Irishman in her house, if she has a feeling against them. One must pay some respect to the privacy of the home and family life.

But there is a definite place for legislation. A Parliament which believes in the principle of human equality should insist that in all public places and institutions and in social contracts, no discrimination should be allowed.

My Bill covers these. It would make illegal any discrimination in hotels, common lodging houses, public houses, restaurants,

must end all discrimination in public places if we are to claim that we have no race segregation in Britain.

My Bill would apply to social contracts in two spheres. It would prohibit the inclusion in any lease for a house or flat or other accommodation of any clause which excluded a tenant on the ground of race, colour or religion.

A few years ago the largest company in London building and letting flats incorporated a clause in their agreements not only excluding any coloured person as tenant, but even as a visitor.

Public opinion has secured the withdrawal of this clause in this particular case, but the practice still remains in the offices of some estate agents.

NUS takes action

The second sphere where my Bill would make discrimination illegal is in employment and promotion. The President of the National Union of Students has just said that many coloured students have difficulty in obtaining jobs during their vacations because employers will not take them on. I pay tribute to the NUS that in all such cases they decline to provide any student for such a firm. The managers of most employment exchanges in Britain would be able to provide evidence that many firms insist on no coloured workers. This is an affront against human dignity which should not be tolerated in a country which regards itself as civilised.

I hope that the conscience of the British people which has been moved by events in South Africa will lead before long to the British Parliament removing the mote from its own eye when condemning the beam which is in the eye of another land.

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into one of the more important London watch and clock repairing workshops. We invite your patronage and will do our best to give good service. Prices moderate. Estimates given. AUBREY BROCKLEHURST, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. EUS 5501.

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SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS NEED BOOKSTALLS. Up-to-date selections of books and pamphlets supplied 'on sale or return' for meetings of all kinds. Housmans Bookshop, the Peace News book-sellers, 5 Caledonian Road, King's Cross, London, N.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the dispatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri., 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5, Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello Market. 10 a.m. onwards. Propaganda for Peace Bookstall; also children's and miscellaneous fiction. Porchester Group PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 8 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

This occasion I appealed to the members of the House of Commons not only to endorse the first reading but to co-operate in passing the Bill through its remaining stages. I am afraid that there will be no response from the minority who do not want legislation against racial and religious discrimination. It is an ironical feature of our system of democracy that we give facilities to a mere handful of prejudiced politicians to hold up a measure which the majority of Members of Parliament would like to see enacted.

The Bill is peculiarly appropriate at this moment because the British people and our Parliament are shocked by the effects of racial discrimination in South Africa.

By one of those strange coincidences of life, it was a distinguished white South African who first encouraged me to introduce a Bill seven years ago.

I won't mention his name because this might be used in evidence against him. I remember that he said that a decision by the British Parliament to make discrimination legal would have a deeper effect in influencing opinion in South Africa than any other single action of which he could think.

I reminded the House of Commons that



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, April 22

LONDON, W.C.2: 4.30 p.m. London School of Economics, Houghton St., "The Influence and Importance of Minority Parties in a Democracy." Ronald Mallone, B.A. LSE Pacifist Society.

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 286 Canford Lane, Westbury-on-Trym. Preparation for National AGM. PPU.

Saturday, April 23

LEEDS 2: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Carlton Hill, Woodhouse Lane. Easter Dance. Music by "The Internationals" & Calypso Steel Band. Proceeds to World Refugee Year, Youth Section of Society of Friends.

Sunday, April 24

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., Kings Cross. Universal Religion—Pacifist Fellowship. J. Allen Skinner "Reflections from Inside." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, April 25

LONDON, W.C.2: 6.30 p.m. Refreshments 6 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St. "Things we would like to Abolish—Membership." Arlo Tatum. Central London, PPU.

Tuesday, April 26

LONDON, N.1: 7.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Road, Reginald Sorensen, MP on his visit to South America and West Indies. LPP.

wrong, and prejudiced may seem. For example, I don't think society would have the right to say to a woman who takes in lodgers that she must have a coloured person, a Jew or an Irishman in her house, if she has a feeling against them. One must pay some respect to the privacy of the home and family life.

But there is a definite place for legislation. A Parliament which believes in the principle of human equality should insist that in all public places and institutions and in social contracts, no discrimination should be allowed.

My Bill covers these. It would make illegal any discrimination in hotels, common lodging houses, public houses, restaurants, dance halls, places of entertainment and similar places to which the public are invited.

At present in Britain no hotel proprietor is allowed to refuse accommodation on the grounds of race or religion, but he can refuse service in a restaurant or bar. It is very rare that service to a coloured person is refused in an ordinary cafe or eating place, but it does happen sometimes. There have been a number of cases during the past few years where coloured persons have been refused admission to dance halls. We

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All members welcome. London Area PPU.

Wednesday, April 27

LONDON, N.1: 8 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., "The Fellowship Party." Ronald Mallone. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Thursday, April 28

BASLEMERE: 7.30 p.m. Social Centre, College Hill. Public meeting—speaker, Nigel Calder, CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd. "CND and the PPU." Laurens Otter. Leytonstone PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 47 Netherhall Gdns., (Flat 7). "Modern Art and Pacifism." Oswald Blakeston. Hampstead PPU.

Saturday, April 30

LEATHERHEAD: 1.30 p.m. Ruxley Lane (Kingston Road end) Nuclear Disarmament March, Open Air meetings en route Epsom YCND.

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m. Lecture Hall, Upper High St., Social (following March) 2s. 6d. Epsom YCND.

Friday, April 29—Sunday, May 1

DEERFIELD, Mass, USA: 8 p.m. Friday till noon Sunday. Woolman Hill, Quaker Conference Centre. Weekend discussion led by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty. Cost \$14.00 American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. Tel. UN 4-3150.

Saturday, May 14

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. Methodist School Room. Film Show, "Children of Hiroshima." Speaker: Austin Underwood. Alton and District CND.

Sunday, May 14, and Sunday, May 15

ALTON: Two-day march round Alton, along perimeter of area of irreparable damage if an H-bomb fell on the town. Supporters contact Farnham Youth CND, Sec. Barbara Mann, Woodlawn, Beech, Alton. Accommodation provided.

Sunday, May 28, and Sunday, May 29

BURLEY-IN-WHARFEDALE: Weekend School Yorkshire Area PPU. Sec. Hilda Gibson, The Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, Pontefract.

able to provide evidence that many firms insist on no coloured workers. This is an affront against human dignity which should not be tolerated in a country which regards itself as civilised.

I hope that the conscience of the British people which has been moved by events in South Africa will lead before long to the British Parliament removing the mote from its own eye when condemning the beam which is in the eye of another land.

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1243, April 22, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

Which way now for CND?

AFTER Aldermaston, which way for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament?

A one-day conference at St. Pancras Town Hall, London, on Sunday will consider this question. Speakers will include Canon Collins, Michael Foot, Peggy Duff, Stuart Hall, Stephen Swingle and Ernie Roberts.

The conference, which has been called by the London Region of CND, hopes to plan Summer study groups and a weekend school to consider some of the vital issues arising from disarmament, and the way to reach it.

IMPLICATIONS

Subjects for discussion this Sunday are: the implications of unilateralism and the "Summit"; leaving NATO; CND as a mass pressure group; non-violent resistance as the alternative to nuclear war; and scientists' and teachers' responsibilities.

The conference will be in two sessions—from 2—5 p.m. and 6—10 p.m. Tickets may be obtained at the door or from London Region CND, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1 (TERminus 0284) at 2s. 6d. each session.

Particulars of the study groups and the week-end school may also be had, when available, from the London Region office.

Niemeoller to speak

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE THIS WEEKEND



Last weekend's march: The dormitories at Leighton Park, the Quaker school at Reading, provided more comfortable accommodation than the day schools for some of the marchers.

Photo: Will Green.

Belgium: Anti-nuclear march

FIFTEEN hundred people took part in a youth march against nuclear weapons in Belgium on Sunday, April 10, when it started off from Mol, the village in the north-east of Belgium where the country's only atomic research centre has been built.

The march, which was sponsored by the Belgian National Federation of Initiatives for a Belgian Contribution to International

"OPERATION Foulness" — the radical demonstration at the H-bomb establishment near Southend-on-Sea—starts tomorrow (Saturday).

A briefing meeting was held in London last Monday immediately after the Trafalgar Square rally concluding the Aldermaston March. It was generally felt that there should be no co-operation with the police until Operation Foulness demonstrators are removed from the entrance road to Foulness Island, where the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment is situated.

Will Warren, one of the field workers of Operation Foulness Committee, said he had information which led him to believe that when the planned rivercade attempted to land on the island tomorrow the demonstrators would be taken to the road block at the entrance to the island—where they will later join with other demonstrators in non-violently obstructing the road on to the island.

The briefing meeting agreed that they would have no legal representative in court after arrest, but would ask three people to act as spokesmen.

The Southend Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is giving active support to the supporters' demonstration which leaves Southend Front for Foulness tomorrow at 3 p.m.

Civil Defence to be challenged

"Summit"; leaving NATO; CND a mass pressure group; non-violent resistance as the alternative to nuclear war; and scientists' and teachers' responsibilities.

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Particulars of the study groups and the week-end school may also be had, when available, from the London Region office.

Niemoeller to speak

LONDON'S Albert Hall has been booked for an eve-of-the-"Summit" peace rally for Christians on Monday, May 16.

Main speaker at the Fellowship of Reconciliation's meeting will be Dr. Martin Niemoeller, who spent eight years in concentration camps for opposing the Nazi régime.

The meeting, under the title "Plan for Peace," will be chaired by the Rev. Professor Charles E. Raven. Tickets at 2s. 6d. and 1s. are available from the Hall and the FoR (29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1).

Abbe Pierre on work camps

AT a conference on "International Service for Youth in Modern Society" convened by the United Nations Association at Furzedown College, South London, on April 8-10 Abbé Pierre made a plea for greater efficiency in the international work camps movement.

He also called for a greater understanding of the idea of service in order to discourage the system of compulsory work camps which exists in Ghana and other countries.

Delegates outlined the work of their respective organisations and affirmed their support for a proposal, soon to be placed before the Council of UNESCO, that an International Voluntary Service Fund should be set up, and for the idea of an International Constructive Service as an ultimate goal.

Belgium: Anti-nuclear march

FIFTEEN hundred people took part in a youth march against nuclear weapons in Belgium on Sunday, April 10, when it started off from Mol, the village in the north-east of Belgium where the country's only atomic research centre has been built.

The march, which was sponsored by the Belgian National Federation of Initiatives for a Belgian Contribution to International Co-operation, went through Herenthals and Lier to Antwerp, which is 40 miles west of Mol. Demonstrators travelled between towns in a convoy of 29 buses and 120 cars.

As demonstrators came into Antwerp numbers swelled to 4,000. At the city's Majestic Hall a public meeting, held in the presence of the Burgomaster, had speakers who represented 30 to 40 trade unions, farmers, teachers, students and other youth organisations of all creeds and political colours.

Three MPs, delegates from more than a dozen local committees, from Britain, France, Germany and Holland participated. An English-speaking Japanese student delivered a message from his countrymen in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

'Families starving in S. Africa'

From BASIL DELAINE

Johannesburg

REPORTS smuggled from Cato Manor, Durban, allege that many families are starving.

Reports likewise from Langa location, Cape Town, allege that there is typhoid in the location.

Is or has the water been cut off?

● IN LONDON a spokesman at South Africa House dismissed these reports as "quite absurd."

Published by Peace News Ltd., 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, and printed in Gt. Britain by Goodwin Press Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, London, N.4.

Photo: Will Green.

Civil Defence to be challenged

A CHANCE to show the "fatuity" of Civil Defence is offered for Saturday, April 30, by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

A large-scale Civil Defence exercise will be held that day in East Anglia and Campaign supporters will be there. London Region CND (5 Caledonian Road, N.1) says it "will be organising large numbers to take part in this," and any interested supporters should contact them at once.

The London Region has also announced a Spring Fair to be held on Saturday, May

island. The briefing meeting agreed that they would have no legal representative in court after arrest, but would ask three people to act as spokesmen.

The Southend Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is giving active support to the supporters' demonstration which leaves Southend Front for Foulness tomorrow at 3 p.m.

14. It will be at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, W.1 (near Warren Street Underground) from 2.30 p.m.

There will be 14 stalls, many side shows, a cinema, jazz musicians from the Aldermaston March and many "eminent personalities" in the Campaign. Admission is by ticket—1s. at the door, or from the London Region office.

In the evening at 8 p.m. there will be a gala entertainment which includes a piece specially written by the Royal Court writers' group. Admission for this is by 3s. 6d. ticket from the London office.

Christian Action

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